

WORK AT KALENDERHANE CAMII IN ISTANBUL: SECOND PRELIMINARY REPORT

CECIL L. STRIKER AND Y. DOĞAN KUBAN

FROM 12 June to 7 October 1967, a second season of work was carried out at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks and the Department of the History of Architecture of the Istanbul Technical University.¹ The objectives of this season were to pursue further the investigation and conservation of the existing structure begun in the 1966 season,² and to extend the limited soundings made on the interior to include excavation on the exterior of the building.

In particular, work on the existing structure was concentrated on the removal of plaster from the exterior west and south façades (fig. 1), and from the interior of the two narthexes, the western cross-arm and corner chambers, the prothesis, and the diaconicon. In addition, the collapsed roof and rubble fill covering the two narthexes were removed, and the narthex roofs were cleaned down to their Byzantine level. A temporary wooden roof was erected over this area at the end of the season.

Excavation work was carried out on the exterior in the area between the building and the Valens Aqueduct to the north, and in the interior in a newly-discovered complex of

rooms beyond the eastern wall of the diaconicon. Our description of findings will proceed from exterior to interior and from west to east.

EXCAVATION BETWEEN THE BUILDING AND THE VALENS AQUEDUCT

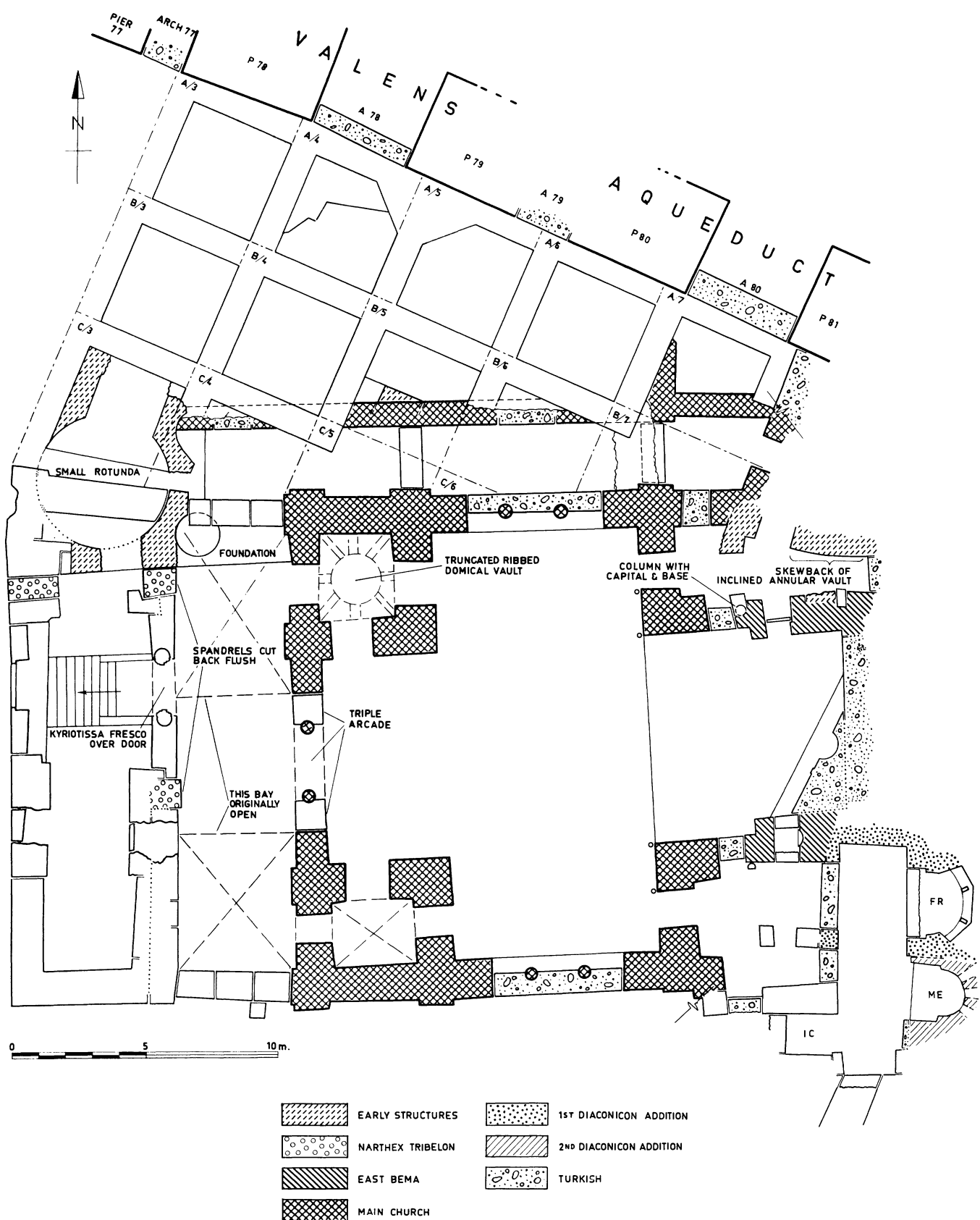
Preliminary evidence was revealed in the course of the 1966 season for the existence both of pre-existing structures and of structures once belonging to the building which were subsequently lost and buried under the deep earth fill which accumulated between the present north façade and the Valens Aqueduct. In the northwest corner of the building, a portion of a circular structure was exposed by soundings in the north part of the exonarthex (First Report, Phase Ia). Further to the east, the original existence of lateral structures flanking the building was suggested by doors in the north and south ends of the esonarthex and by the fact that the outer walls of the north and south cross-arms were originally opened by triple arcades at ground level. The need for excavation to the north of the building was thus indicated.

The site to be excavated is bounded to the north and south by the Valens Aqueduct and the north façade of the building respectively; to the east by a high, Ottoman wall perpendicular to the aqueduct, connecting Pier 81³ of the aqueduct and the northeast corner of the building; and to the west by an imaginary line connecting Pier 78 and the northwest corner of the building (fig. A). The area was unoccupied at the beginning of the 1966 season, and had a highly irregular topography, sloping sharply downward to the southwest. At its northeast corner, the level of the earth rose to a maximum height of six meters above

¹ Once again we would like to extend our thanks to the General Directorate of Vakıflar, to the Department of Antiquities, and to the Municipality of Istanbul for their permission to continue the project. For numerous courtesies, we are again grateful to Mr. Necati Dolunay, Director, and to Dr. Nezih Fıratlı, Curator, Istanbul Archaeological Museum. As in the past, we benefited from the generous counsel of Mr. Ernest J. W. Hawkins and, on pottery questions, from the advice of Mr. John Hayes. Our staff this year included O. Bıçakçı, D. Elgin, K. Gökbayrak (architects), Y. Gürocak (artist), A. Sabuncu (pottery specialist), B. Aran, A. Alpöge, A. Pfeifferberger, A. Kelsey, and L. Goff.

² Cf. our "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: First Preliminary Report," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1967), pp. 267-271, cited hereinafter as First Report.

³ The numbering of the piers is that of K. O. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt in Konstantinopel*, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, 3 (Bamberg, 1933), *passim*.



A. Kalenderhane Camii. Plan of Building and Excavation

the interior floor level of the building.⁴ A mortared rubble Turkish retaining wall, built up in successive phases, running parallel to the north façade at an average distance of 0.80 m. from it, prevented earth from falling into the building and provided drainage.

The site was prepared for excavation during the 1966 season. Sounding trenches were dug into the earth fill in the areas of deepest accumulation down to the same level as the top of the retaining wall (+4 m.). All of the superficial fill was determined to be twentieth century in date. The site was then levelled to an even plane of +4 m. in order to facilitate excavation.

For the purpose of systematic excavation in the 1967 season, a five-meter grid was imposed on the site labelled numerically from west to east and alphabetically from north to south. Within this grid, four meter square trenches were dug, leaving one meter baulks. The grid was oriented in alignment with the aqueduct, hence obliquely to the axis of the building, in order to produce approximate longitudinal and cross sections of the site and to prevent baulks from obscuring expected structure related to the building.

Turkish Structures

Although the Turkish levels yielded great quantities of pottery with representative types of all periods, no evidence for structures of large scale or great significance was discovered. In the southwest portion of the site (B/3-4 and C/3-4) and along the flank of the building, mortared rubble foundations indicated the former presence of small buildings, dated by pottery to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Parallel to the building, other structures rested on Byzantine walls to be described below. In B/3, a well shaft was discovered, the lower part of which may be Byzantine. For reasons of clarity, these structures have not been entered on the 1967 plan.

Byzantine Structures

The projection outside the church of the semicircular structure, the southern part of which was discovered in 1966 in the northern part of the exonarthex (First Report, Phase

⁴ All elevations were taken from a bench mark of datum zero at the base of the west column in the north crossarm.

Ia), was recovered in C/3-4 (figs. A and 2). It proved to be a rotunda (referred to hereinafter as Small Rotunda) opened in the north by a rectangular niche 2.60 m. in width by 1.70 m. in depth, oriented with the Valens Aqueduct. On the exterior, the rising wall of the rotunda was preserved to an average height of 1.50 m. The north wall of the niche was robbed down to its foundation, and it was thus impossible to determine if it was originally opened by a door. No trace of the continuation of the structure was found in B/3.

The original form of the Small Rotunda still remains to be clarified since part of it is imbedded in the north narthex walls and other parts still remain unexcavated. It has likewise been impossible to explain the circular indentation in its northeast wall. In B/5, an early pier underlying a later Byzantine wall lies in the same axis as the rotunda, and may be related to it.⁵

Evidence from the pottery indicates that the rotunda stood until the thirteenth century, at which time a destruction or remodelling resulted in the suppression of its northern and western part and the insertion of the wall across its diameter which now forms the north wall of the exonarthex.

When the trenches immediately flanking the north wall of the church had reached the level of the interior floor of the building, a wall was exposed (figs. A and 3), 0.90 m. in thickness, lying parallel to the north flank of the building at an average distance of 2.50 m. from it, and spanning the full flank from the Small Rotunda in the west to the wall which closes the site in the east. The wall had been robbed in a number of places, and in the western part was overlaid with the foundations of Turkish structures. In some parts, however, it was preserved to a height of one meter.

The wall is of masonry similar to the main phase of the naos, and originally formed the north perimeter wall of the church, en-

⁵ Because of the complexity of the site and the great number of building periods thus far distinguished, we have found it advisable in the interest of clarity at this stage to simplify the phase designations in the 1967 plan (fig. A) Only the principal phases have been distinguished. Moreover, the three separate "Early Structures" to the north of the church have been grouped together.

closing an aisle or lateral chamber running the length of the building. The aisle communicated with the north crossarm of the naos through the triple arcade, with the esonarthex through a door, and with the exterior to the north through two doors. At its eastern end, the aisle is terminated by an oblique wall, perpendicular to the axis of the Valens Aqueduct, but in bond both with the present north wall of the church and with the aisle wall (fig. 4).⁶ A door in this wall communicates with an area further to the east, as yet unexcavated.⁷

In the eastern bay, the aisle wall is offset slightly to the north (fig. 5) forming a slightly wider chamber than the remainder of the aisle. At the point of this return, the exterior of the aisle wall is intersected at a right angle by a wall in north-south axis, bonded into the aisle wall. To the west of this wall, in A/6, fragments of marble paving were found *in situ* at the same level as the floor of the aisle and of the interior of the church. The significance of this wall and paving is not yet clear.

The aisle was decorated throughout its interior with a frescoed dado simulating marble revetment, probably in imitation of the true marble revetment of the naos interior. Remains of this fresco decoration were found on all preserved wall surfaces. Above the frescoed dado, which rose to a height of 1.30 m., was a frescoed narrative frieze, a small fragment of which was preserved in situ in C/3 on the exterior wall of the northwest pier. Only the feet of two figures were preserved, and the subject could not be determined. Other fragments of the fresco decoration were recovered from the earth which filled the interior of the aisle.

While the situation of the aisle wall, its frescoed interior, and the nature of its communication both with the interior of the church and the exterior to the north, leave no doubt that it enclosed an interior lateral aisle at ground storey, there is still insufficient

⁶ This oblique Byzantine wall which forms the east side of A-B/7 carries, at least in its southern part, the high Ottoman wall which closes the site to the east. It has not yet been traced to the point of intersection with Pier 81 of the aqueduct.

⁷ The door now forms the mouth of a Turkish drainage canal which flanks the northeast corner of the building.

evidence to speculate on the reconstruction of its superstructure. The Small Rotunda in the west and the proximity of the aqueduct in the east may have required modifications in the ideal plan. If the ideal plan was symmetrical, some of these questions may be solved by excavation along the south flank of the building.

The foundation of a Byzantine structure was also exposed in A/4, but its significance remains to be determined.

THE NARTHEX ROOFS AND WEST FAÇADE

At the commencement of work this season, the narthexes were covered with a modern, three-bay, hipped roof, lying in east-west axis, partially collapsed, and generally in poor repair. This had replaced a pent roof shown in the 1877 lithograph in Paspates and the 1894 photograph published by Freshfield.⁸

Freshfield was the first to suggest⁹ that a gallery once existed over the esonarthex. This view has been generally accepted; but apart from the conjectural reconstruction of the building by Ebersolt and Thiers,¹⁰ no suggestion has been offered as to its specific form. The removal of the roof and of the rubble which lay under it, and the cleaning of plaster, both from the upper west façade and from the interior of the esonarthex, revealed evidence for the reconstruction of the general form of the esonarthex gallery (fig. 6).

The gallery was a long hall similar in dimensions to the esonarthex below. Barrel vaults covered the north and south bays. The vaults rose along the present west façade, and the remnants of their cutaway skewbacks may be seen on the exposed masonry (fig. 7). The springing point of the vault was marked by a cornice at a height of 3.50 m. above gallery floor level, the remains of which are also visible. The barrel vaults were carried in the west by walls resting on the common wall of the two narthexes below (fig. 8). The foundations of these walls and the paving of the galleries, exposed in the course of cleaning,

⁸ Respectively, A. G. Paspates, *Βυζαντινὰ μελέται* (Constantinople, 1877), facing p. 351; and E. Freshfield, "Notes on the Church now called the Mosque of the Kalenders at Constantinople," *Archaeologia*, 55 (1897), pl. 36.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 432.

¹⁰ J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), pl. xxvi.

indicate that the esonarthex gallery was raised one step above the exonarthex gallery and communicated with it through two doors each in the north and south bays.¹¹

The central bay of the esonarthex gallery opened directly into the western arm of the naos through a great arch (4.50 m. in span), flanked by two smaller arches set off by mullions. The mullions, with undecorated capitals, are still preserved. The bay was covered by either a dome on pendentives or a domical vault, and traces of the cut-back pendentive skewbacks are still visible on the façade. Visual communication was also possible through a rectangular light well in the floor of this bay to the ground story of the esonarthex below. The barrel vault which now closes this light well is a later insertion (possibly late Byzantine in date); and the fair, vertical faces of the light well, still bearing traces of frescoed plaster which covered them, were exposed upon the removal of earth and rubble fill which covered them. It might be added, that the filling of the great central arch was subsequent to the aforementioned illustrations of the building by Paspates and Freshfield, where it is still shown open.

Doors led from the north and south bays of the esonarthex gallery into the corner chambers of the naos and also into some structure flanking the gallery, at gallery level, to the north and south. The nature of these two-story flanking structures is not yet clear; but their existence is verified by the recovery of the foundations of the jambs of doors leading to them in the north and south, by the presence of the north door still shown standing in the aforementioned Freshfield photograph, and by the fact that the south face of the west façade wall was cut back at gallery level and thus originally projected further to the south.

There is also evidence, though not conclusive, for a covered gallery over the exonarthex. No trace of the settings for doors was found in the well-preserved steps in the north bay

¹¹ The south bay of the exonarthex has suffered extensive destruction and rebuilding, making it more difficult to determine in this area the original form of the esonarthex gallery. Evidence exists, however, for the symmetry of the north and south bays of the esonarthex gallery.

connecting the two galleries. Plaster found only on interior walls was discovered on the west face of the foundation wall dividing the two galleries, and no evidence for drainage was found on the roof of the exonarthex. Both galleries were also paved with the same type of brick tiles resting on earth fill.

A Constantinopolitan analogy to the esonarthex gallery is to be found at the south church of the Pantocrator (Zeyrek Camii). It has in common a domed central bay, a large arch opening into the naos (in this case originally through a triple arcade), and an open light well into the narthex below.

DIVERSE OBSERVATIONS IN THE INTERIOR

Numerous observations were made possible in the interior by the further removal of plaster and exposure of masonry, the most important of which may be summarized as follows: In the First Report we described the discovery of a tribelon system (Phase II) with Justinianic *à jour* capitals which was subsequently incorporated into the common wall of the two narthexes; and we suggested that this might be the remains of a sixth-century church. This suggestion now seems doubtful, in light of the total cleaning of the interior of the esonarthex. While evidence exists elsewhere for an earlier phase of the church, the extant piers and arches belonging to the tribelon system appear to be the remnants of a larger vaulted system which lay in an east-west axis along the straight exterior south wall of the Small Rotunda. This is indicated by the fact that the spandrel zones of the north-south arch are cut back flush with the walls in which they are now imbedded; and suggests that these zones originally gave rise to arches in an east-west axis extending into the present esonarthex, and possibly to the present exterior to the west. The relative date of this vaulted system is still to be placed between the completion of the Small Rotunda and the erection of the naos, but it is not yet possible to suggest the nature or purpose of the structure.

The temporary removal of marble revetment over the main tribelon entry into the naos and the cleaning of the roof above made it possible to verify that the main entry into the naos was through a triple arcade. As we observed in the First Report, the two lateral

arches of the arcade were subsequently blocked, resulting in the present single arch.

No clear picture has yet emerged regarding the date of the marble revetment in the western bays. Part of the revetment over the main entry must be secondary, since it covers the upper part of the two lateral arches of the tribelon. On the other hand, the revetment in the lower register of the western wall was in place before the blocking of the side arches, and may be from the original decoration.

The vaulting of the ground story of the two western corner chambers was found to be in bond with the piers which surround them, which presents an anomalous situation. As is shown on most prior plans of the building, the south chamber is groin vaulted. The cleaning of the north chamber revealed it to be covered with a ribbed domical vault, subsequently truncated. Over this is laid the modern wooden floor of the upper chamber. The difference in vaulting is perhaps due to the difference in plan of the two bays: the north chamber is approximately square in plan, allowing for the easy construction of a domical vault; the south chamber is rectangular, presenting certain difficulties in the construction of a ribbed domical vault.

The structural history of the prothesis remains complex and obscure. Its north-eastern part, initially thought to date from two different periods (First Report, Phases Ib and c), is, in fact, one structure, consisting of a high brick wall with greenstone chains, and with a slight curvature to its face. The western part of the structure is opened by a round-headed door to the north. Beginning at the eastern jamb of the door, and running along the entire south face of the structure, inclined slightly upward, is what appears to be the cutaway skewback of an annular vault. Further clarification of this structure will depend on excavation to the northeast of the church. Possibly belonging to the same system is a column, with its capital and base in situ, walled up in the north bema wall.

We observed in the First Report that the bema walls were from two different periods, the dividing point between them being the western doors communicating with the prothesis and diaconicon. There is now clear evidence that the eastern part of the bema (First Report, Phase IIIb) is the sur-

vival of an earlier structure, rising two stories to gallery level. Against this earlier structure were subsequently built the main eastern piers of the naos. While the extent and form of this earlier structure remains to be investigated in detail, it may well represent an earlier phase of the church.

What emerges from this in terms of the general structural history of the building is the fact that the core of the existing structure (First Report, Phase IIIb; this report, fig. A, "Main Church") is one of the latest structures, an insertion, in other words, between earlier structures flanking it on three sides. These structures, including the Small Rotunda and the northeast wall of the prothesis to the north, the narthex tribelon to the west, and the eastern part of the bema to the east, were, in turn, modified and incorporated into the existing building.

THE DIACONICON AND ADJACENT ROOMS

At the commencement of the 1967 season, the diaconicon was an irregular chamber, roughly square in plan, and closed to the east by a rough, masonry wall of Turkish date. A sounding through this wall revealed the existence of a barrel vaulted hall (figs. A and 9), 8.55 m. in length by 2.50 m. in width, lying in north-south axis. The hall was filled with unstratified, black earth almost to the crown of the vault; and yielded a rich deposit of Turkish pottery from the sixteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. It was evident that in its present form, the hall had been created as a sewage settling tank by the insertion in Turkish times of a barrel vault over a Byzantine structure of similar dimensions. Two drain pipes opened into the crown of the vault, and a narrower barrel vaulted passage, subsequently blocked, led obliquely off the south end of the hall. The walls were covered with a tough, waterproof mortar. In its final phase, the hall was accessible from the exterior above by stairs cut through the vault of a small chapel adjoining the hall (ME in fig. A), to be described presently. The southern part of the hall opened laterally into two small chambers: to the east, a small, semi-circular, apsed chapel, just mentioned; to the west, a rectangular room (IC), covered with a half barrel vault. A third chamber (FR), also a semi-circular, apsed chapel,

opened off the northern part of the hall, but was not initially visible.

When the hall with its two visible lateral chambers had been sufficiently excavated, the walls were cleaned of the mortar which covered them. An extensive fresco program was revealed in very fragmentary condition, but identifiable as part of the same program already partially exposed in the 1966 season in the western part of the diaconicon (fig. 10). The entire program was unified by a frescoed, simulated draped dado, interrupted in several places by a simulated marble dado. Above this, the program in the western part of the diaconicon consisted of images of male and female saints shown full or bust length. The program is best preserved on the south wall of the western part of the diaconicon (fig. 11). The accompanying inscriptions for all of these figures were obliterated, and none can be identified with certainty.

In the newly exposed eastern part of the diaconicon, the western chamber adjoining the hall contained simulated painted representations of seven wooden icons showing bust-length figures of male saints. The icons are shown framed and hanging on nails from iron rings. Only the three on the north wall (fig. 12) are sufficiently well preserved with their inscriptions to identify them with certainty: SS. John Climacus, John of Damascus (fig. 13), and Cosmas the Poet. On the south wall the inscriptions are lost, but the images are the types of SS. Anthony (fig. 14) and Onuphrius. The two on the west wall are almost totally obliterated. The structural history of this chamber (designated hereinafter as Icons Chapel) has not yet been clarified. It appears to be an improvised chamber made up of the remnants of structures from three different periods. The earliest of these is the south wall which gives rise to a half barrel vault covering the chamber. This wall bears the traces of at least one prior frescoed phase under the present icons.

The chamber diagonally opposite the Icons Chapel giving off the east side of the hall was initially obstructed by stairs cut through its semidome leading to the exterior above. The removal of the stairs and the cleaning of the walls revealed a small apsidal chapel with the same painted, draped dado decor found elsewhere in the diaconicon (figs. 15 and 16).

Above this were very fragmentary scenes in two registers: in the upper semidome of the apse, a figure of the Mother of God Blacheriotissa; below, the Christ Child on a central altar, approached from each side by two officiating bishops carrying scrolls and inclining toward the altar. A fifth bishop is shown on the south wall of the chapel, also bearing a scroll and inclining toward the altar. The scene is generally referred to as the *melismos* or *amnós*.¹² (The chapel is referred to hereinafter as the Melismos Chapel.)

In the main hall, other fragmentary figures were uncovered; but the only scene sufficiently well preserved to identify the subject was the remains of a Koimesis in the tympanum of the north wall of the hall. The general lines of the upper portion of the scene, together with the inscription, could be distinguished (fig. 17); but only the head of one of the bishops was sufficiently preserved to give a sense of the style (fig. 18). The lower portion of the scene is entirely lost.

We stated above that the main hall was covered with a barrel vault of Turkish date. It was observed, however, that in the northern part of the hall, the eastern part of this vault rested on a Byzantine wall which in turn bore remains of fresco decoration. A sounding hole was made in the Turkish vault at the point where it sprang from the Byzantine wall to determine what, if anything, lay to the east of the wall.

Immediately behind the vault, an arch was exposed in north-south axis (fig. 19), bearing the inscription DOMINE DILEX. . . . Behind the arch opened the semidome of a small chapel, filled almost to the crown of its vault with earth. On the earth lay the continuation of the inscription . . . I DECOREM DOM . . . and this portion could be recovered in two large fragments (fig. 20). The full inscription must have read DOMINE DILEXI DECOREM DOMU[S] TUAE ET LOCUM HAB-

¹² Cf. I. D. Ștefănescu, *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient* (Brussels, 1936), pp. 108-115. The question may be legitimately raised, with the discovery of the *melismos* scene, whether the south pastophory, which we have conventionally called the diaconicon, is not, liturgically speaking, the prothesis; since it was doubtless at the altar in the Melismos Chapel that the *proskomidi* was celebrated.

ITATIONIS GLORIAE TUAE] (Psalm 25 (26) : 8), that is, "O Lord, I love the habitation of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwells"¹³ (fig. 21). To each side of the inscription arch, on the lower soffits of an arch to the west of this arch, were the fragmentary lower parts of standing bishops.

A second sounding hole was cut to facilitate access and the earth fill excavated. The chapel was found to be opened by three windows set off by mullions. On the semidome of the chapel were the fragmentary remains *in situ* of a fresco cycle depicting in small panels scenes from the life of St. Francis of Assisi. The cycle probably consisted originally of eleven scenes disposed in three registers. All that remained *in situ* were the fragments of three scenes in the spandrel to the west of the north window (figs. 21 and 22) and a fragment of a fourth in the crown of the vault. The subject matter of only one scene could be identified with certainty; that of St. Francis Preaching to the Birds, in the lowest register to the left (figs. 22, 23, and 26).

Above this scene are the fragments of two others (fig. 25). The left shows two Franciscan friars standing on a crenelated parapet, facing left, with their hands outstretched. The right-hand friar of this group is the best preserved figure from the cycle (fig. 24). The right-hand scene shows a group of three bare-footed friars facing right. Their arms are in a pose similar to that of the friars in the former scene, except that here their hands are concealed beneath the sleeves of their habits.

The scene in the crown of the vault (fig. 27) shows part of the haloed figures of St. Francis standing against a blue sky, with his left hand slightly raised. To the far right is a tower. Traces of an inscription may be discerned against the sky, but only the beginning of his name can be read. Above this scene to the left, at the crown of the vault, is a fragmentary semi-circular panel in which the haloed figure of an angel appears to be represented.

Numerous small fragments from the cycle were excavated from the earth which filled

the chapel. These were removed in measured areas in order to determine, if possible, the location from which they had fallen. All fragments were so small, however, that this has yielded minimum success. Among the fragments, nevertheless, were portions of figures which extend our knowledge of the style; and from one fragment the subject of one additional scene can be added. A small fragment showing a demonic face with the Evil Spirit issuing from its mouth must come from a scene of one of the posthumous exorcisms, possibly that of the Woman from Narni (fig. 28). A fragment of the face of one of the standing bishops (fig. 29) could also be identified by its large scale and the location where it was found.

The decoration of the St. Francis Chapel clearly dates from the period of the Latin Conquest of Constantinople, and must have been painted between the years 1228 (the canonization of St. Francis, who is shown haloed) and 1261 (the end of the Latin Conquest).¹⁴ On the basis of preliminary study, we are inclined to place the cycle toward the end of this period, probably in the 1250's; and to attribute it to the hand of a Latin artist, under Byzantine influence, from the close circle of the painter of the Paris Arsenal Bible (painted *ca.* 1250-54).¹⁵

A detailed analysis of the St. Francis frescoes must await further study; but, briefly stated, their significance lies in the fact that they are the first paintings from the period of the Latin Conquest to be discovered in Constantinople, they are the first extant fresco cycle of the life of St. Francis, and they belong to the earliest cycles of the life of the Saint.¹⁶

¹⁴ The literature on the Franciscans in the East is extensive. For their specific relations to Constantinople, together with further literature, see R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio*, 2 (1944), pp. 213-237.

¹⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5211. Cf. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 54-68. It was our good fortune to have had the opportunity to discuss the frescoes *in situ* with Professor Buchthal shortly after their discovery; and it was he who first recognized their close kinship to the Arsenal Bible.

¹⁶ The early cycles of the life of St. Francis, together with relevant literature, are collected by G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952), cols. 385-414.

¹³ The text is not as common as might be supposed. In liturgies of the period, we have found it only in the antiphon for the vespers of the first night for the dedication of a church. Cf. R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii* (Rome, 1965), II, p. 714, no. 127a.

The remaining decoration of the diaconicon described above must date from the period following the reoccupation of Constantinople and of the church by the Byzantines in 1261. It will be recalled that the St. Francis Chapel was closed from view by a wall which bore traces of a frescoed narrative and simulated dado. It is our conjecture that this wall was built after 1261 in order to seal off the Latin chapel; and that the entire diaconicon was then redecorated with a new program, the fragmentary remains of which are now preserved. Insofar as one can judge the style of the frescoes in their fragmentary condition, an early Palaeologan date would be appropriate.

The structural history of the diaconicon and its adjoining rooms still remains to be sorted out in detail. The newly-discovered hall with its adjoining chapels is comprised of two main phases, both of them added to the western portion of the diaconicon.¹⁷ The first includes the north part of the hall and the St. Francis Chapel (fig. A, 1st diaconicon addition). To this was added the Melismos Chapel (2nd diaconicon addition). The Icons Chapel, as we have stated above, is an improvised room made up of three different phases, and can be clarified only when it has been excavated on the exterior.

Unfortunately, the decoration of these chambers gives little indication as to the date of their construction. The Melismos Chapel, for example, was once opened by three windows which were blocked before the present fresco program was painted.

OTHER DECORATION

Elsewhere in the building several noteworthy frescoes and mosaics were uncovered. The removal of a masonry fill of Turkish date from the western door between the bema and diaconicon exposed the well-preserved fragment of a three-quarter life-size mosaic of the Archangel Michael (fig. 30). The figure decorates the west reveal of the door and stands on a frescoed, simulated marble dado. It appears to belong to the early Palaeologan

redecoration of the diaconicon, a date consistent with its style.

In the western lunette over the door between the two narthexes, a very fragmentary frescoed bust of the Mother of God Kyriotissa was discovered (figs. 31 and 32). The lower part of the figure was lost and the inscription damaged when the Ottoman inscribed tablet was inserted over the door lintel. But her head, part of the inscription, and smaller figures of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel flanking her in the upper corners were sufficiently preserved to make possible their identification.

This fresco assumes additional interest in the light of another fresco discovered during the 1966 season. In the First Report we mentioned the discovery of a well-preserved fresco of the Mother of God with a donor. The fresco was found in a sealed off chamber which at one time had been a door between the bema and the diaconicon (fig. 10). The door was subsequently blocked from the bema side, creating a small oratory accessible from the diaconicon. Later, but still in Byzantine times, it was closed from the south as well; and the south blocking wall bears traces of fresco of the same decorative scheme as the remainder of the diaconicon. The fresco of the Mother of God (fig. 33) is of excellent quality; and despite small areas of repair in the face is in good condition. The donor has been somewhat abraded, and the inscription on the scroll which he carries is illegible. The inscription around the Virgin is well-preserved, however, and she, like the fresco over the narthex door, bears the epithet Kyriotissa. We shall return to this question presently.

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Caution was expressed in the First Report regarding the generally accepted identification of Kalenderhane Camii as the church belonging to the Akataleptos Monastery; and it was added that no date could be assigned to the erection of the main structure on the basis of the first season's findings. On the basis of the second season we still have no conclusive information regarding identification and date, but one, and perhaps two, findings described above may have bearing on the question of identification.

¹⁷ This is not to suggest that the eastern additions to the diaconicon are later than the main church. The chronological relationship between the diaconicon additions and the main church has yet to be determined.

The first is the St. Francis frescoes. From their presence in the building and their situation in a chapel sealed off by a Byzantine wall, we may conclude that this was one of the churches occupied by the Latins during their domination of the city, and reoccupied by the Greek clergy after 1261. Chiefly from Latin sources the names of at least thirty-four churches and monasteries occupied by the Latins in Constantinople are known.¹⁸ Thus far, however, it has been impossible to identify Kalenderhane Camii with any of these. Over half must be eliminated as possibilities either because they are known buildings, or because enough is known of their original location to disqualify them. For the remainder, insufficient topographical information exists to suggest possible candidates for identification, pending further study.

The second finding of possible relevance to the identification of the building is that of the two frescoes of the Mother of God Kyriotissa, the presence of which raises the speculation that the building may have been dedicated to

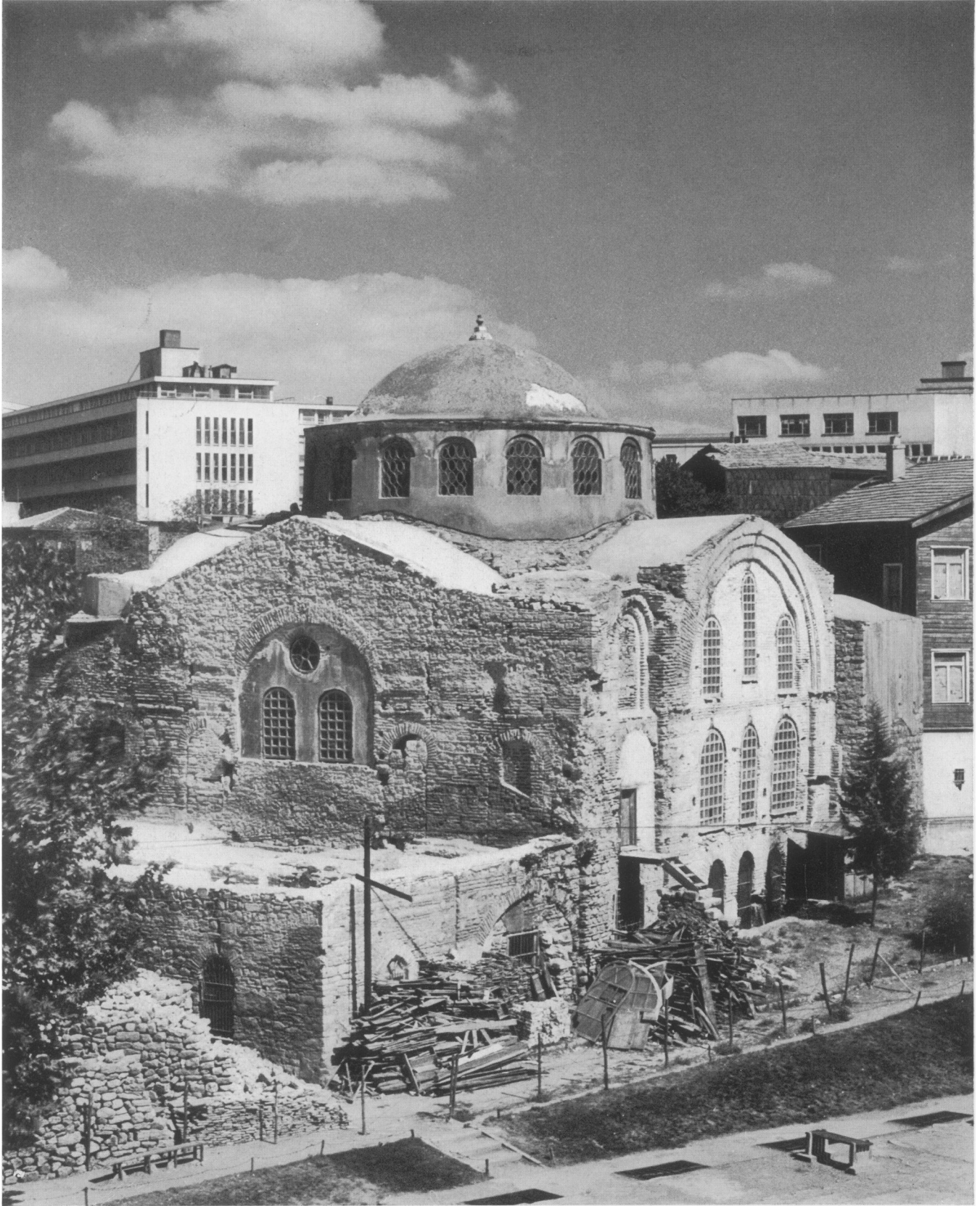
her. At least two monasteries are referred to in historical sources as Kyriotissa; but there are difficulties in attempting to identify the building with either of these. One, dedicated to the Mother of God, was so called from its location in the region τὰ Κύρου, generally believed to have been in the western part of the city just inside the Theodosian walls.¹⁹ The second adjoined the monastery of the Theotocos τῆς Βεβαίας Ἐλπίδος, generally believed to have stood near the modern Yenikapı.²⁰ Neither of these, in other words, was in the vicinity of Kalenderhane Camii. In order to suggest an identification of Kalenderhane Camii with a monastery named Kyriotissa, it would be necessary either to revise the generally accepted view of the locations of the two buildings known by this name, or to speculate that it is a third such, unmentioned in historical sources.

Finally, for the purpose of identification of the building, no meaningful correlation has yet been possible between the presence of the St. Francis frescoes and that of the Kyriotissa frescoes.

¹⁸ See R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine," *Études byzantines*, 2 (1944), pp. 134-184; supplemented by E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Les sanctuaires urbains et suburbains de Byzance sous la domination latine," *Revue des études byzantines*, 11 (1953), pp. 53-61.

¹⁹ Cf. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1953), pt. 1, vol. 3, pp. 201-203; based on the argument of P. J. Pargoire, "A propos de Boradion," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12 (1903), pp. 463-466.

²⁰ R. Janin, *ibid.*, pp. 303-304.



1. Kalenderhane Camii. General View of Building from Southwest



2. North Half of Small Rotunda in C/3-4



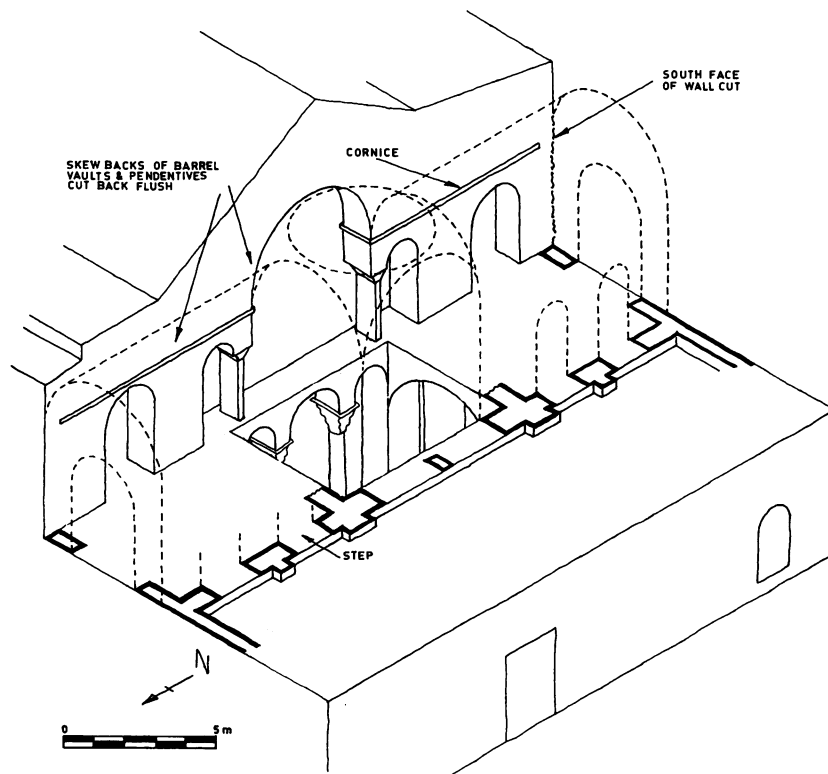
3. North Aisle Wall with Turkish Overlay in B/5-6, from Roof of North Crossarm



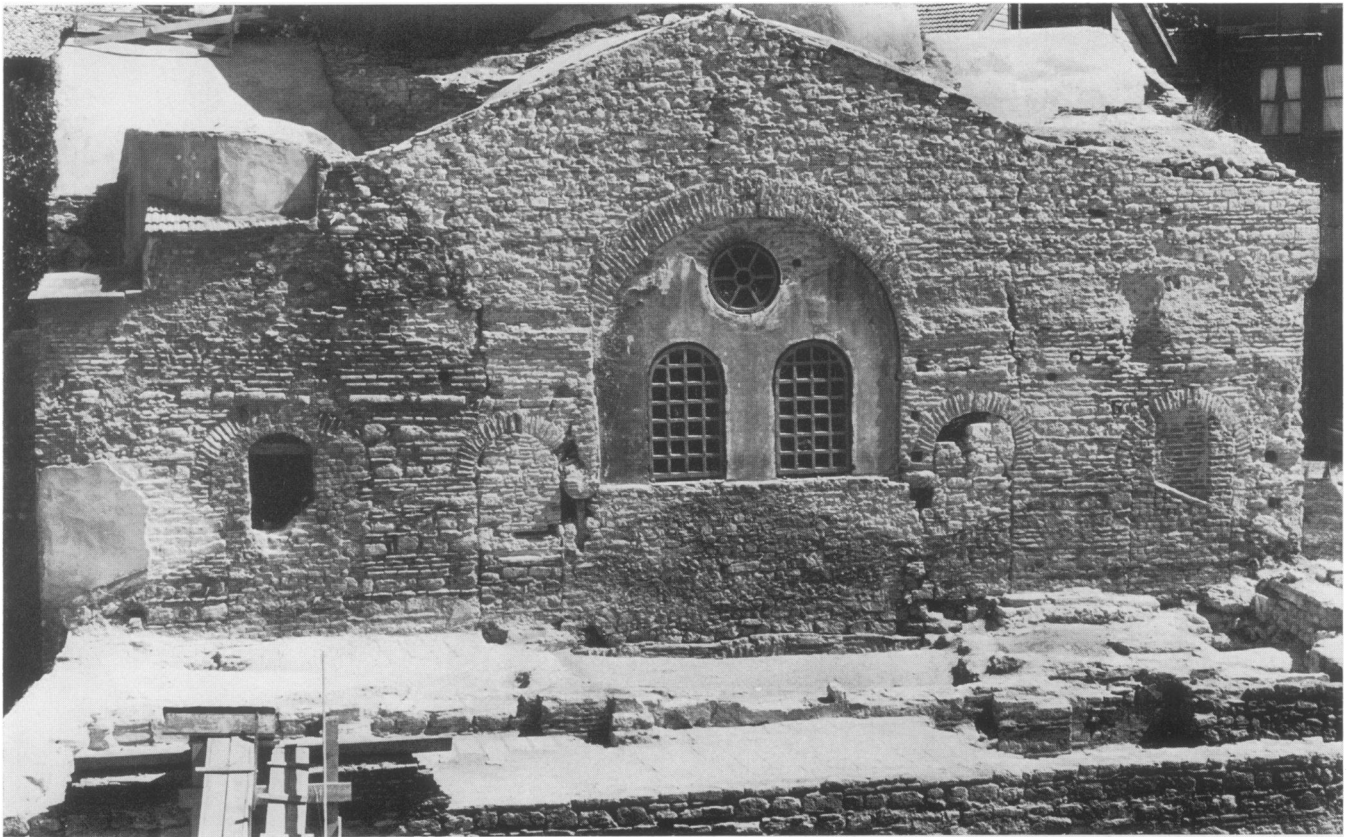
4. East Bay of North Aisle in A-B/7, looking East



5. North Aisle Wall in A/7, looking Northwest



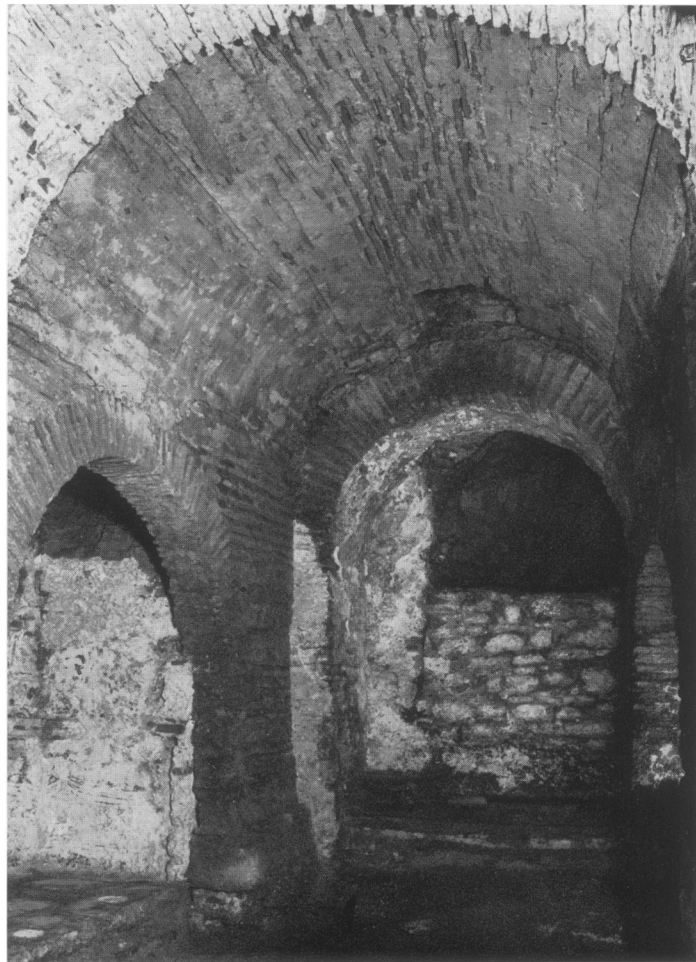
6. Isometric Reconstruction of General Form of Esonarthex Gallery



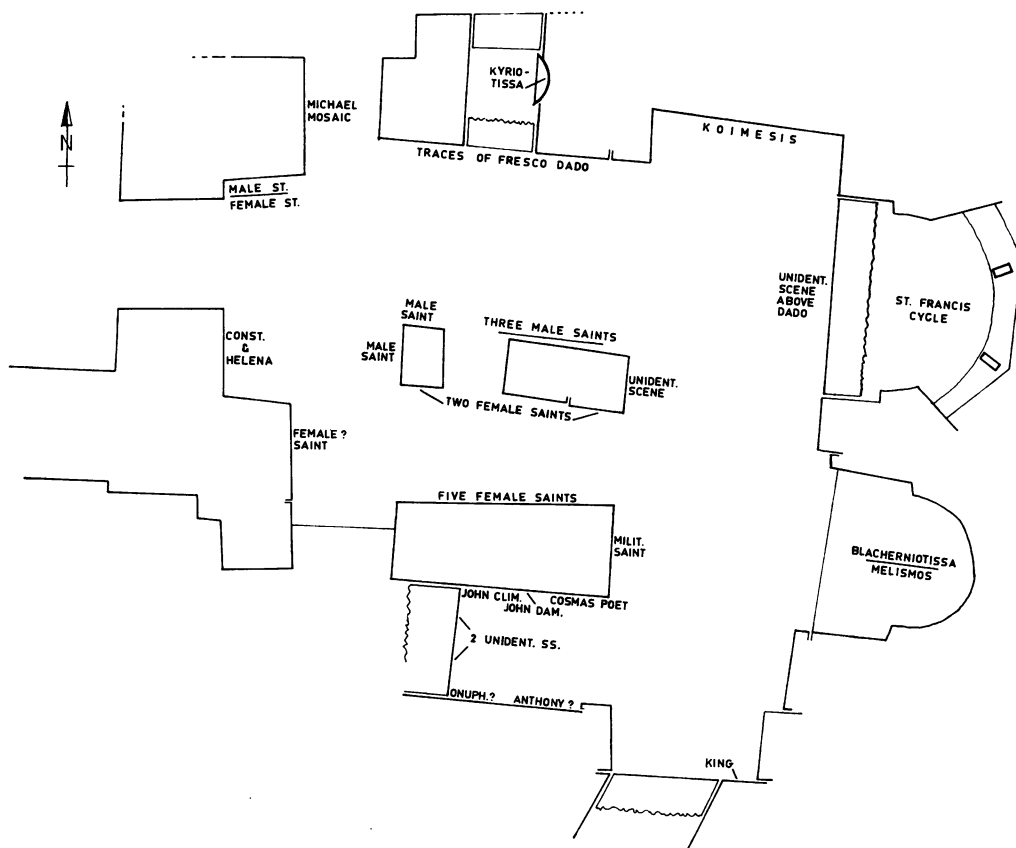
7. Upper West Façade and Narthex Roofs, after cleaning



8. Narthex Roofs, after cleaning, looking Southeast

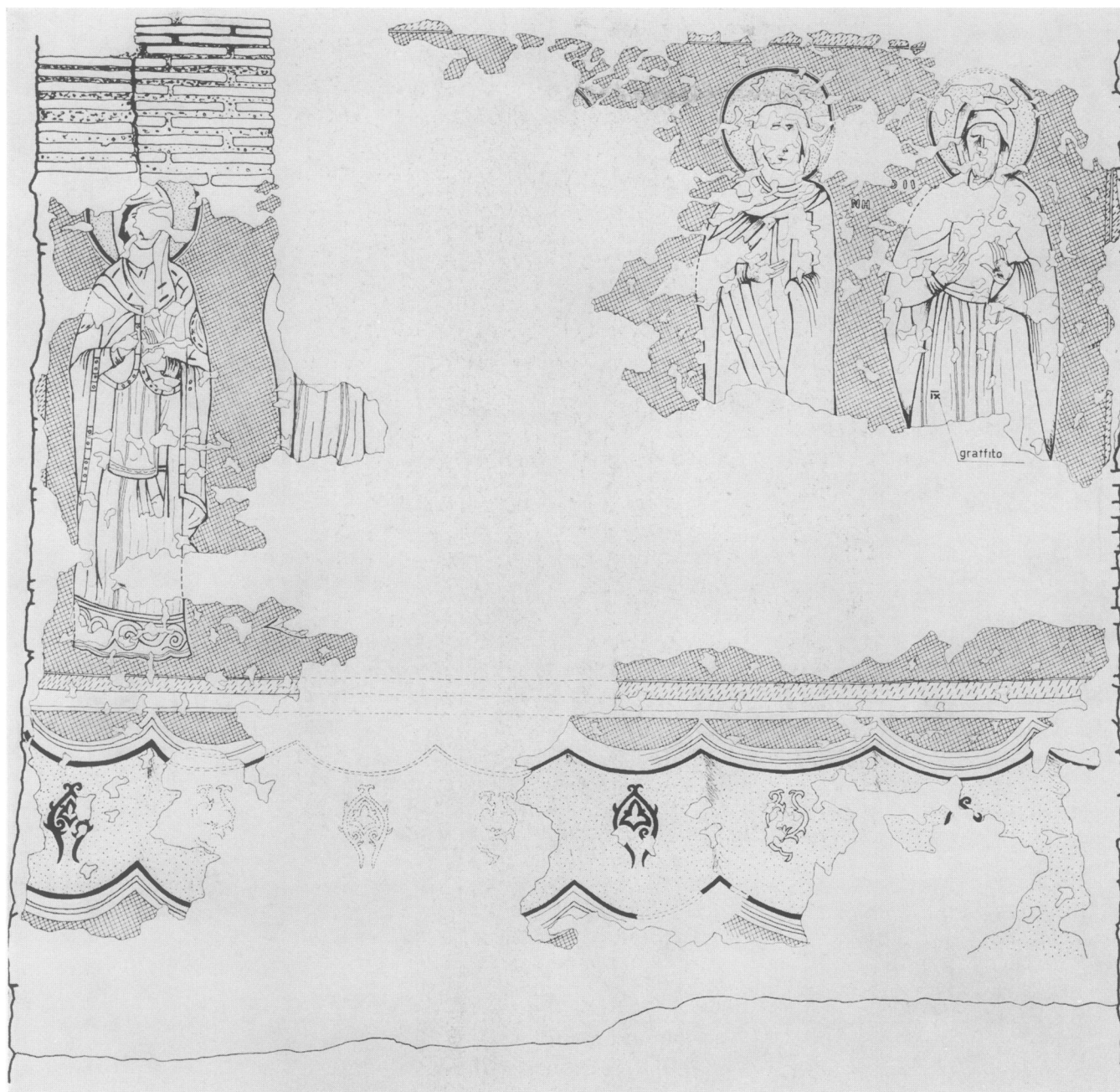


9. East Hall, looking South

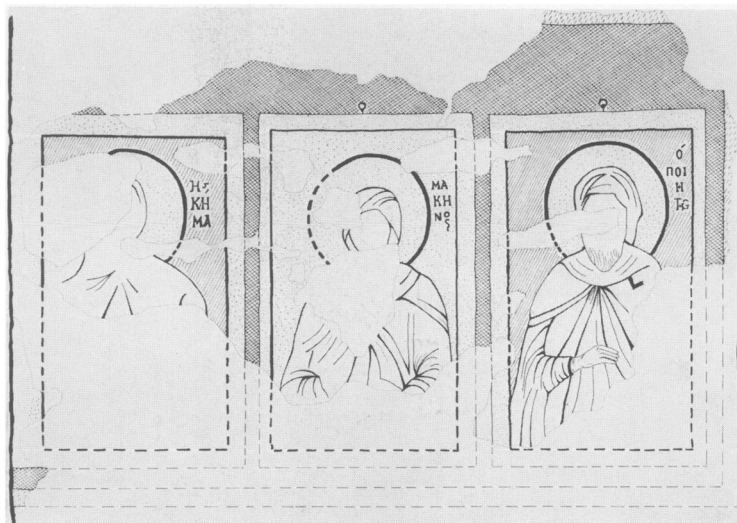


10. Plan showing Decorative Program

Diaconicon



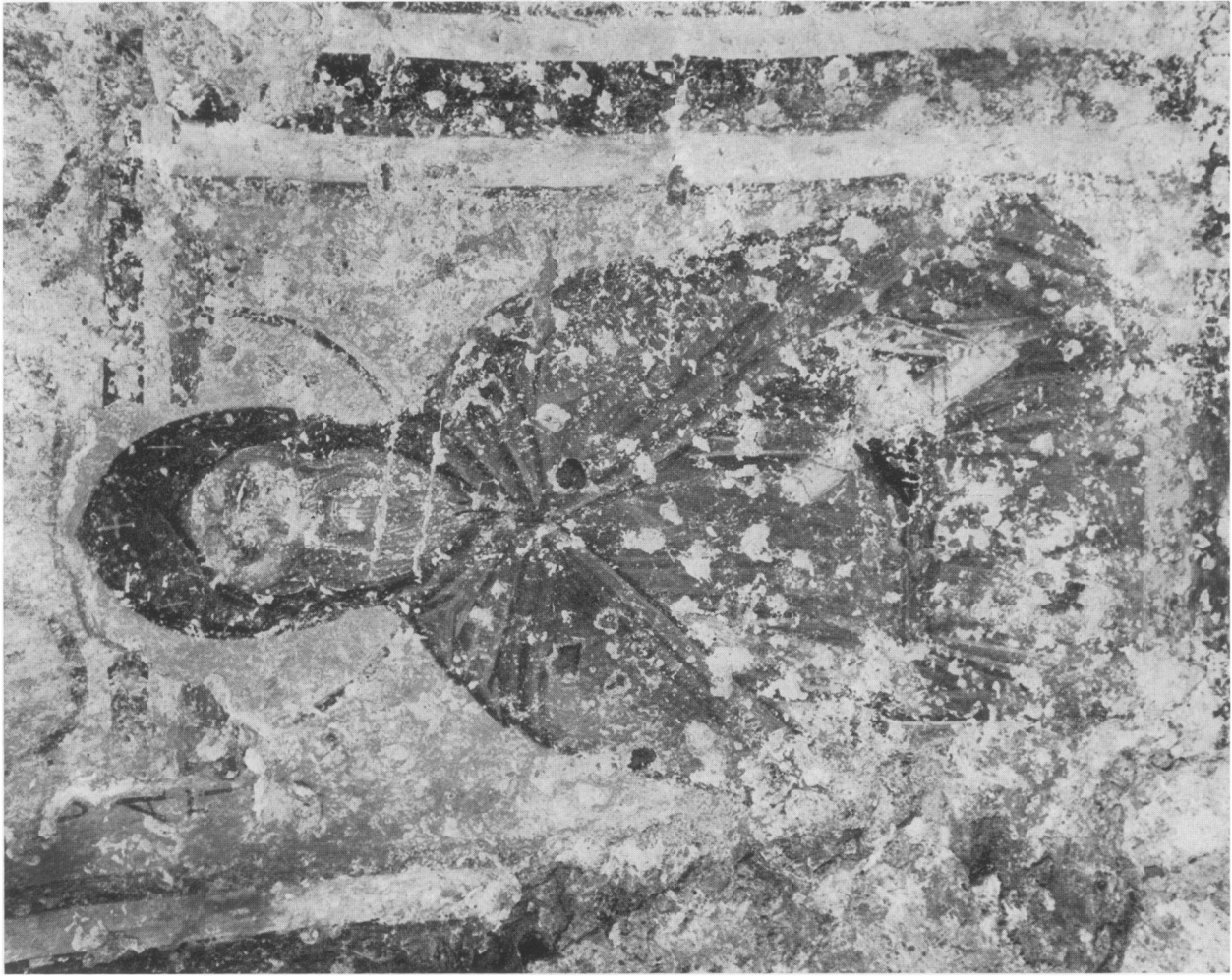
11. South Wall. Schematic Drawing of Fresco Program



12. Icons Chapel. Schematic Drawing of Frescoed Icons on North Wall
Diaconicon

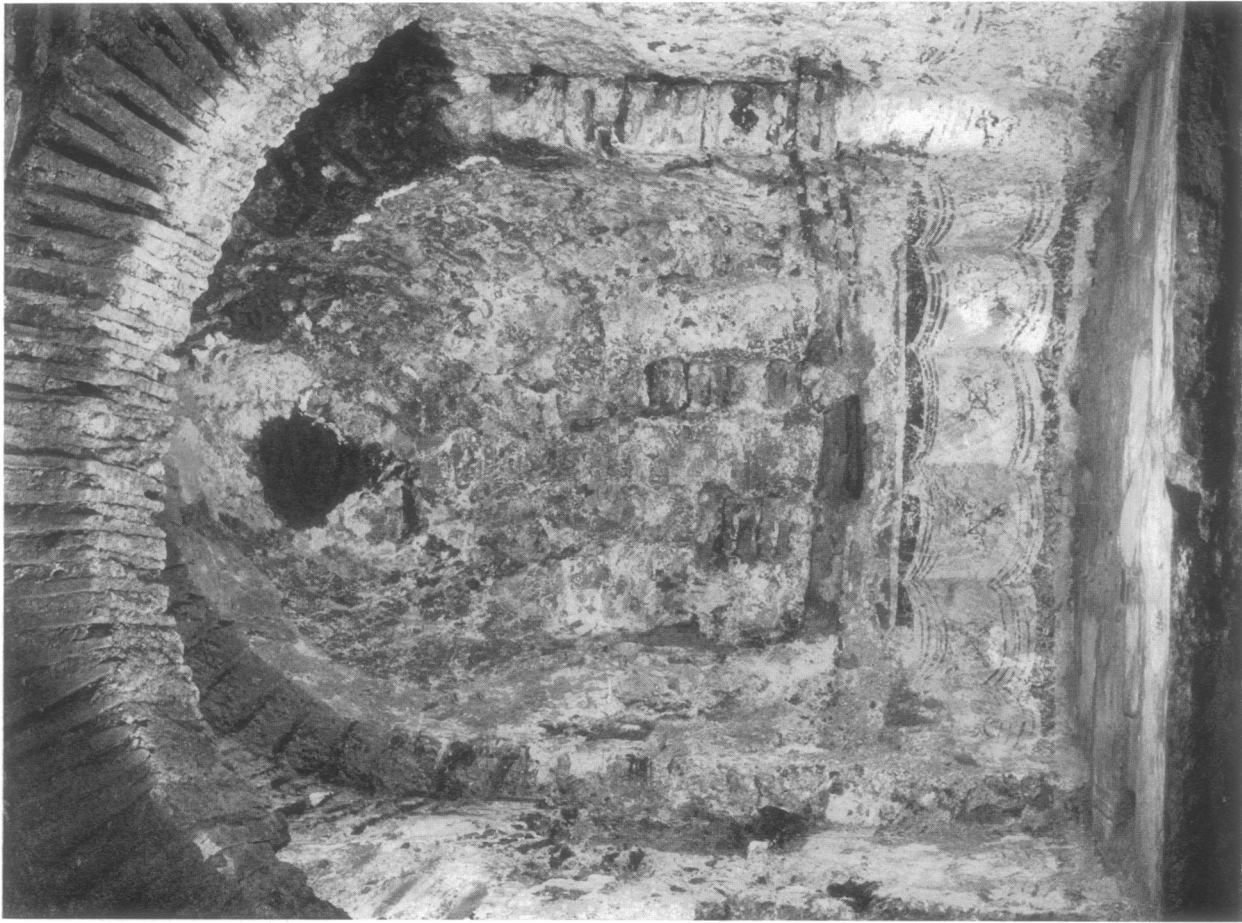


13. North Wall. St. John of Damascus



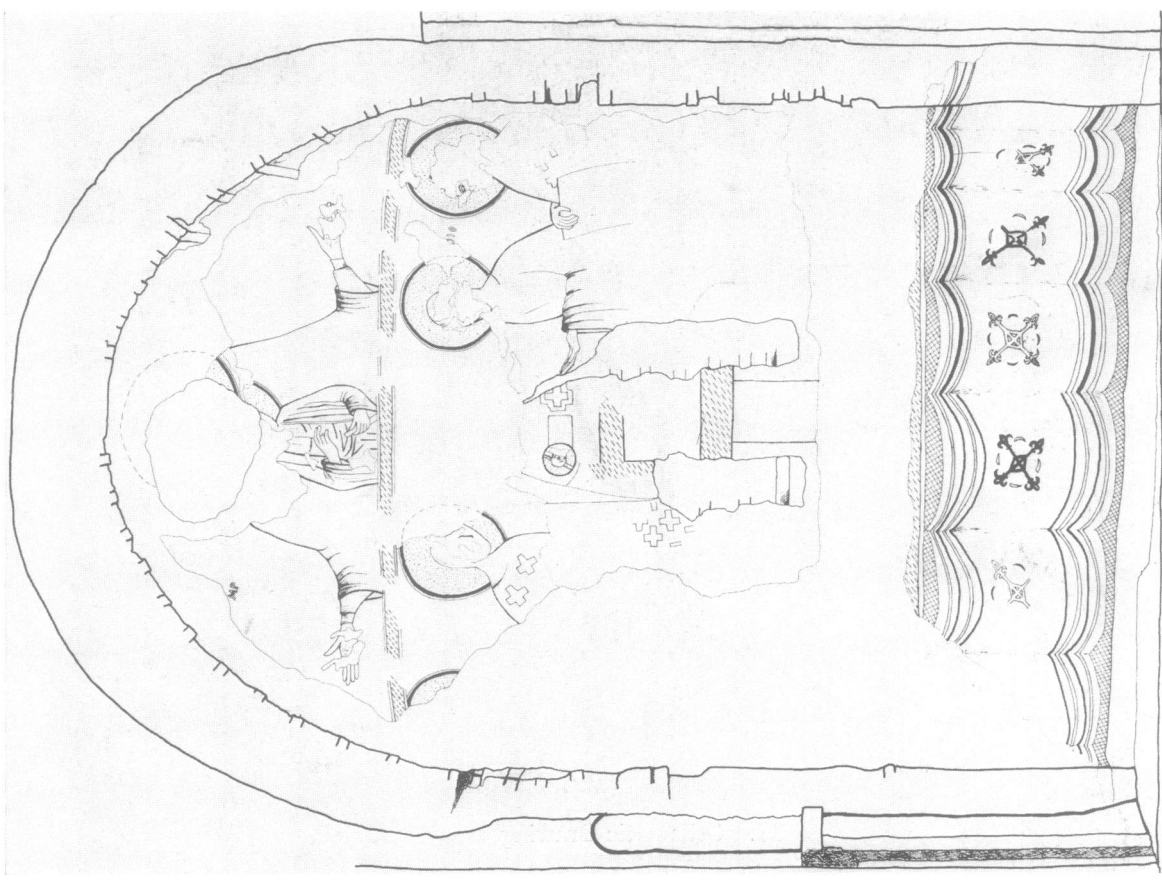
14. South Wall. St. Anthony (?)

Icons Chapel

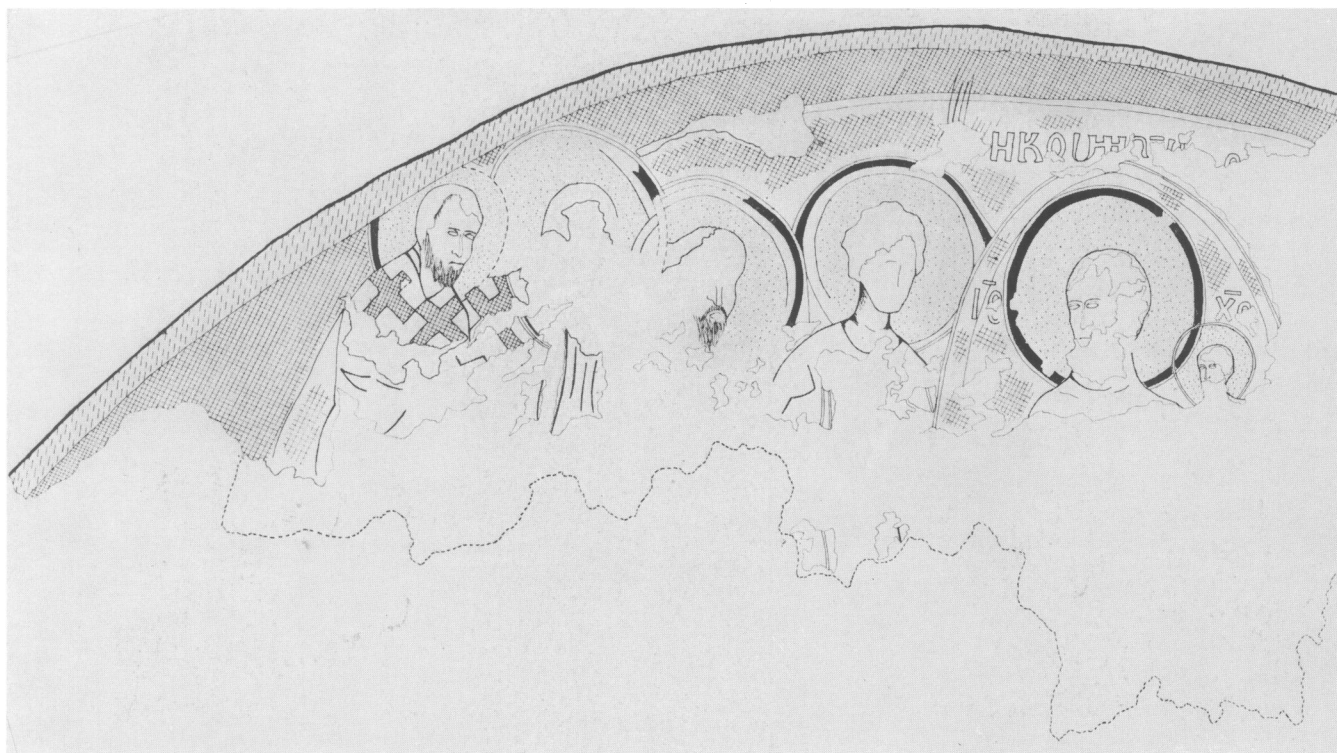


15. View looking East

Melismos Chapel



16. Schematic Drawing of Fresco Program

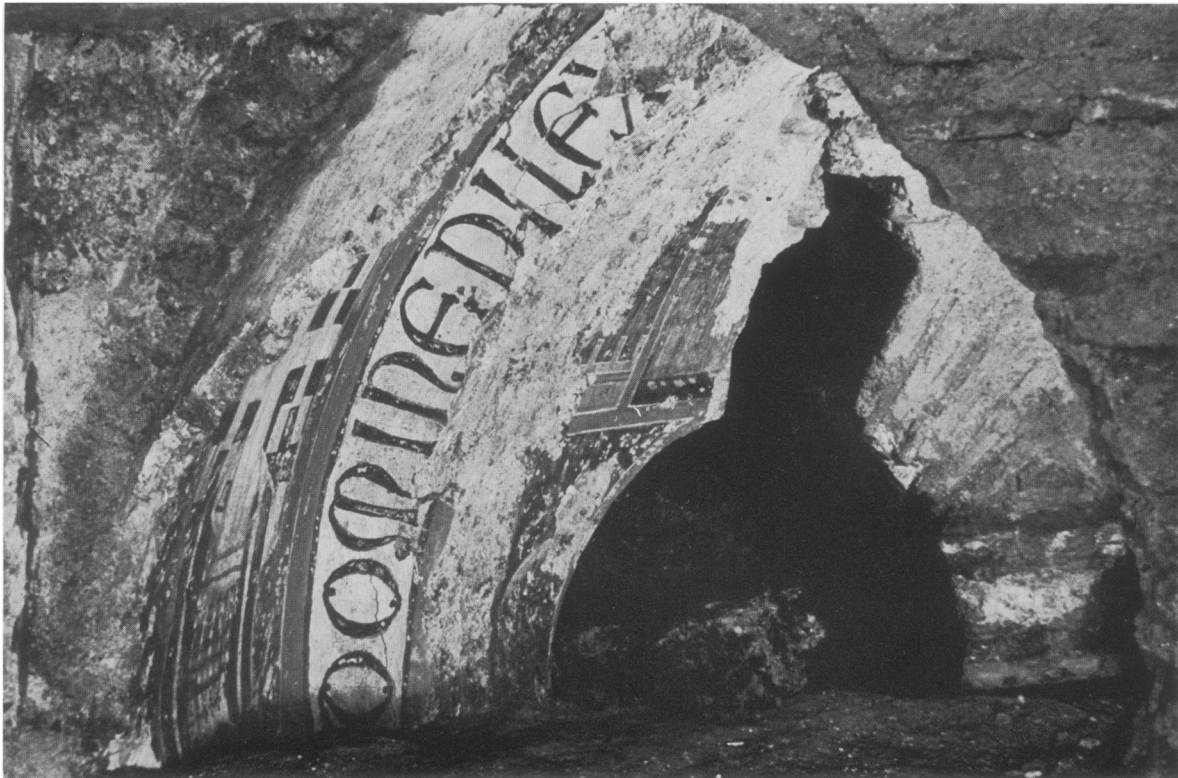


17. Schematic Drawing



18. Detail of Bishop to Far Left

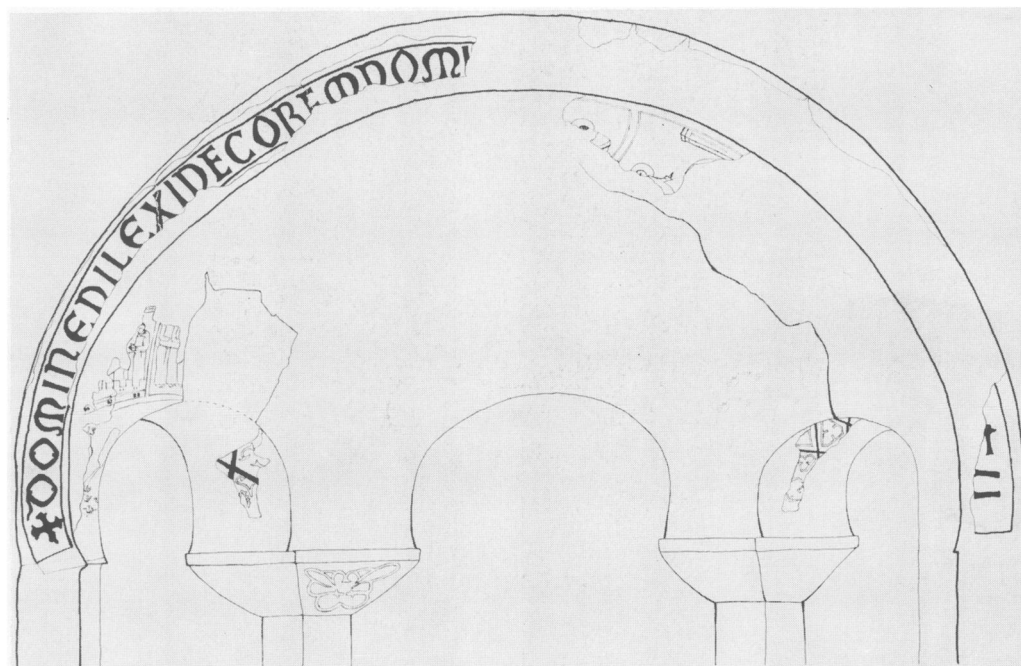
Diaconicon, East Hall, Tympanum of North Wall. Koimesis Fresco



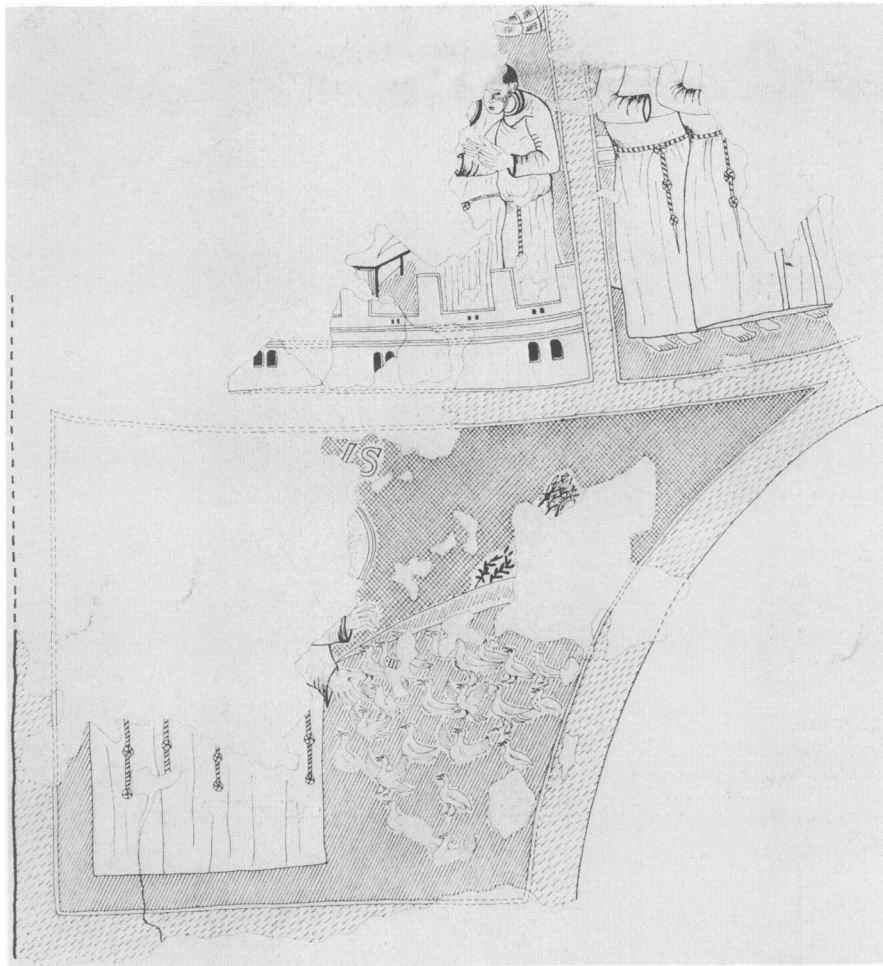
19. View to East through North Sounding Hole



20. Inscription Fragment



21. Schematic Drawing of Upper Half of Chapel, looking East
St. Francis Chapel



22. Schematic Drawing of Frescoes

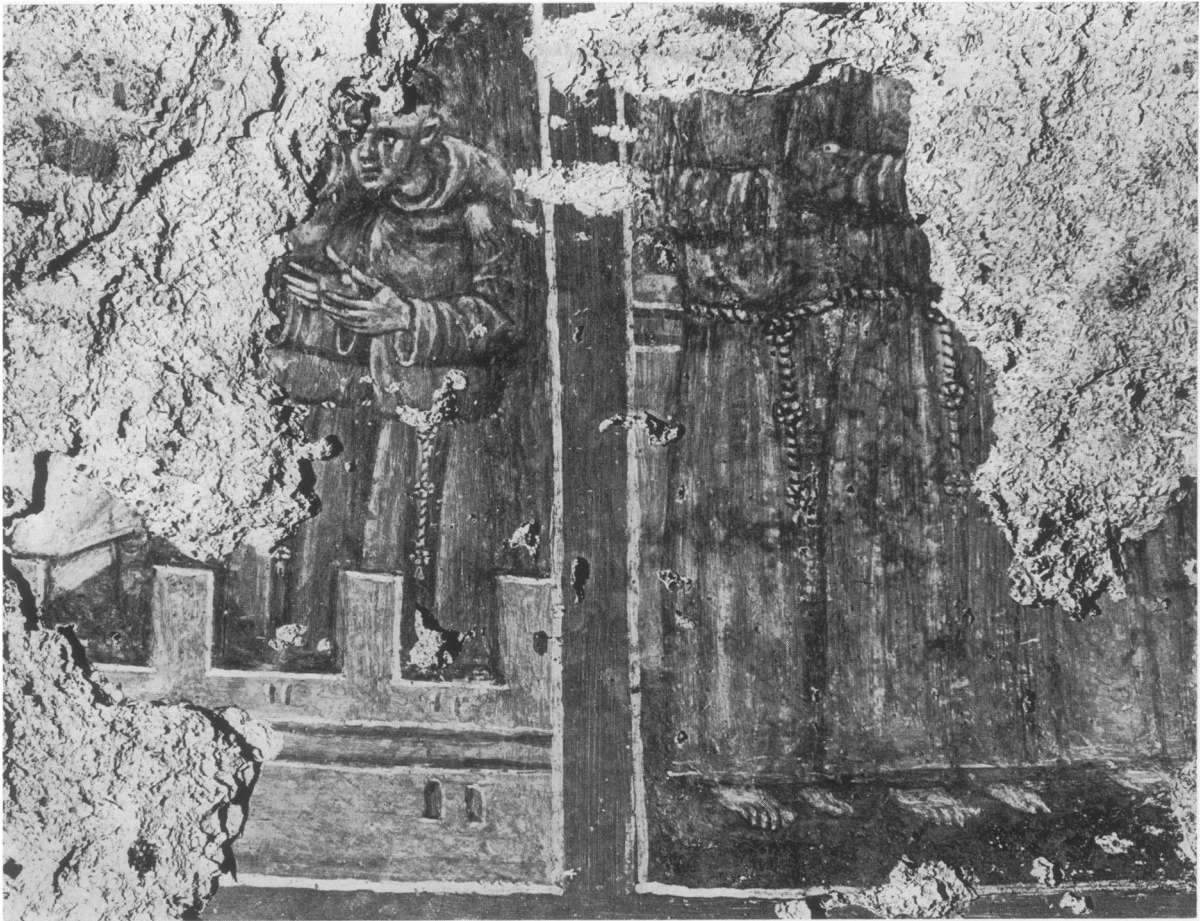


23. Detail of St. Francis Preaching to the Birds

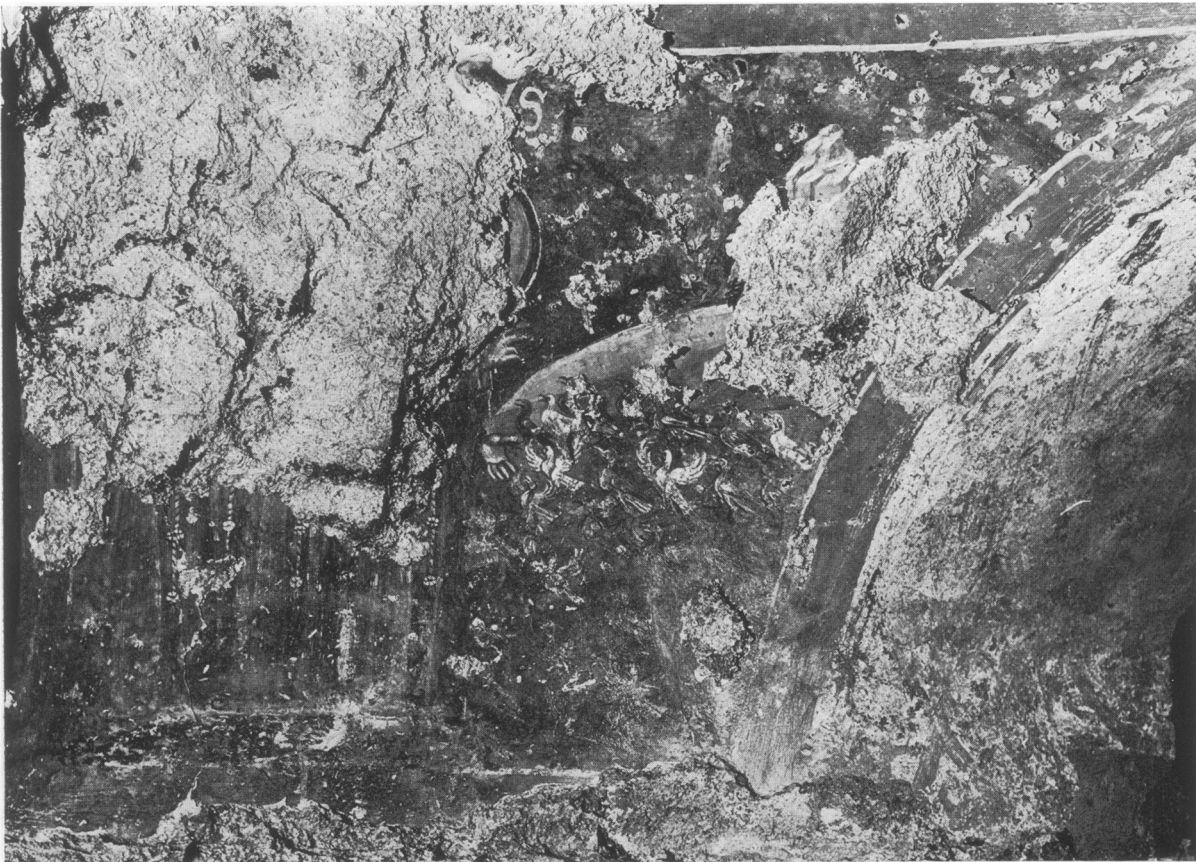


24. Detail of Friar from Upper Left Scene

St. Francis Chapel, North Spandrel



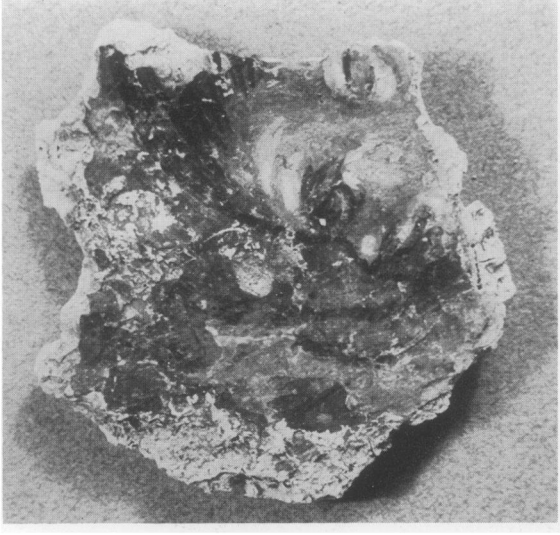
25. Two Upper Scenes



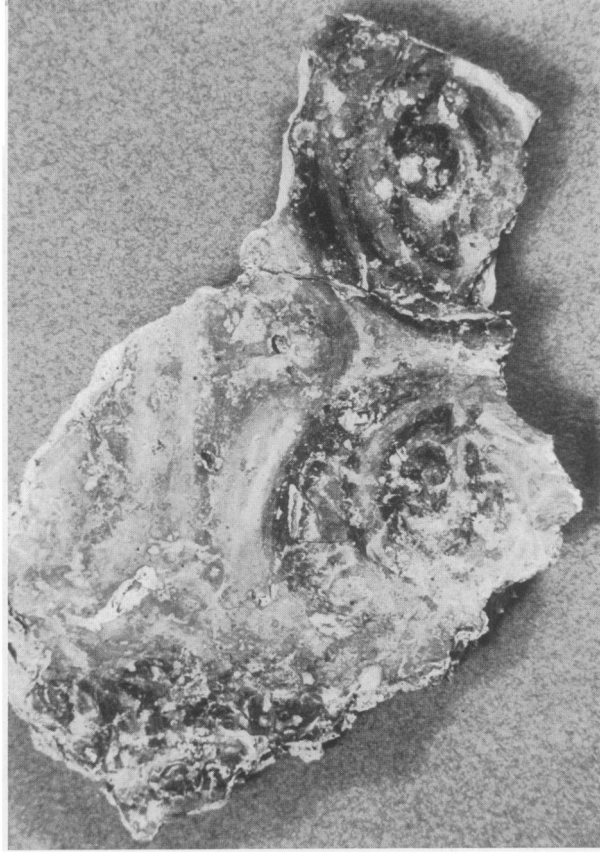
26. Lower Scene, St. Francis Preaching to the Birds
St. Francis Chapel, North Spandrel



27. Scene in Crown of Semidome



28. Excavated Fragment from Scene of Exorcism

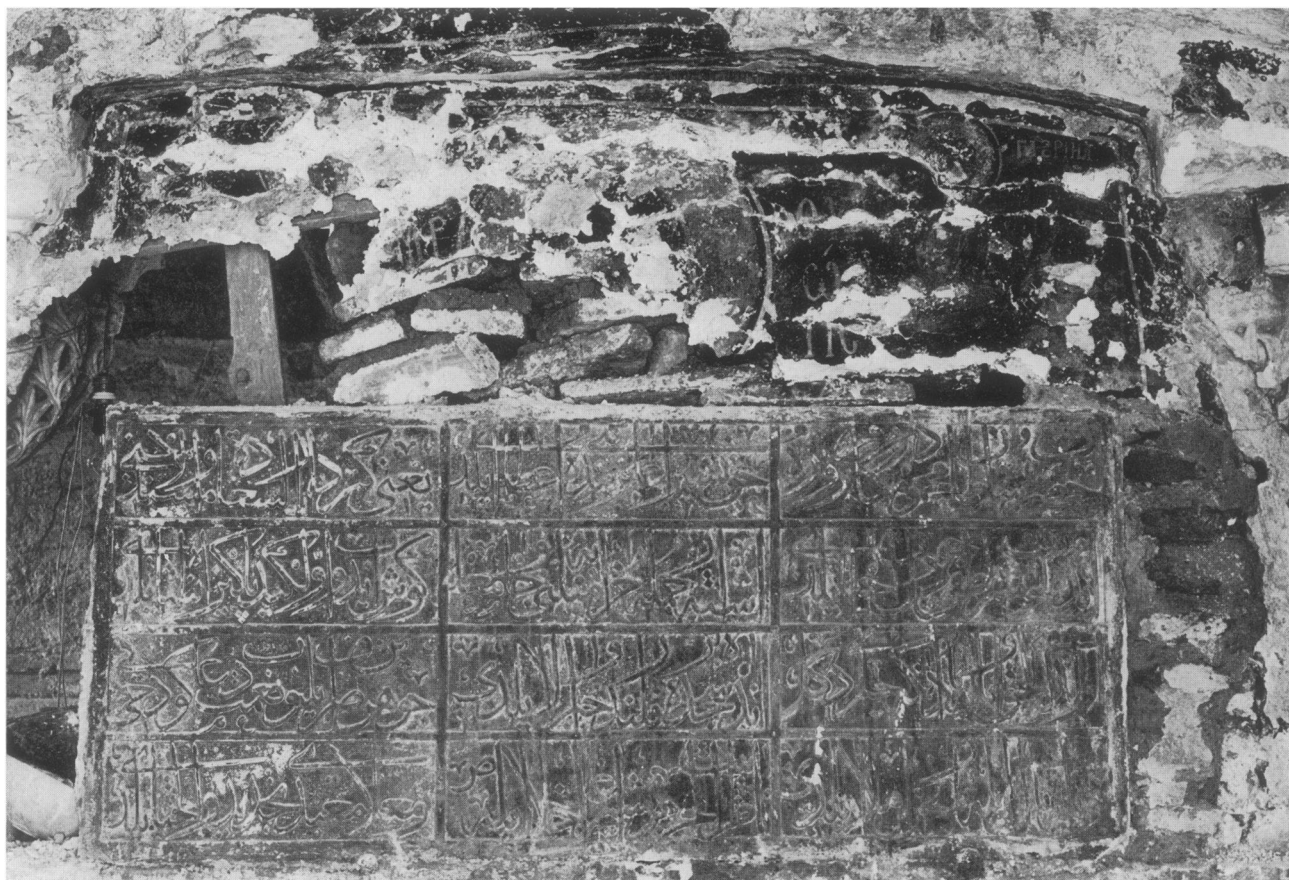


29. Excavated Fragment of Bishop's Face

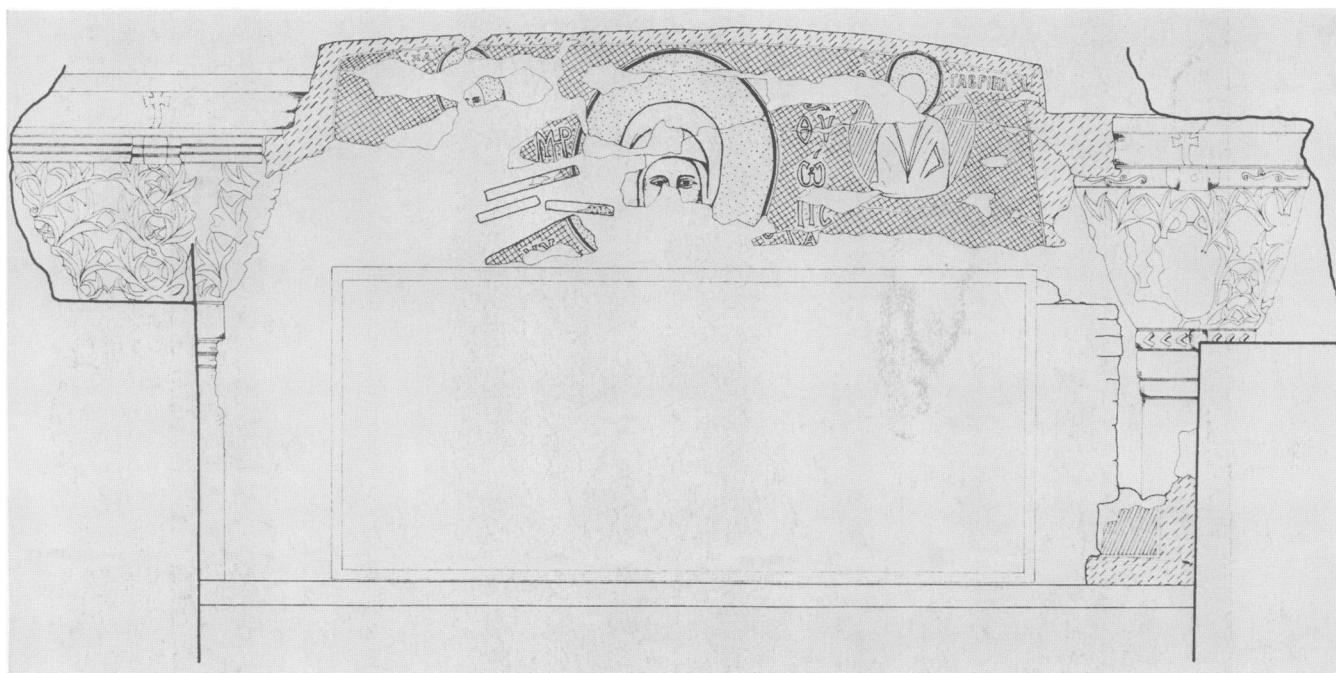
St. Francis Chapel



30. Diaconicon, West Reveal of West Door to Bema. Mosaic of Archangel Michael



31. General View, looking East



32. Schematic Drawing

West Tympanum of Door between two Narthexes. Fresco of Mother of God Kyriotissa



33. Diaconicon, Niche in Blocked East Door to Bema. Fresco of Mother of God Kyriotissa with Donor